

The Classical Weekly

Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of Publication, Barnard College, New York City. In United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere, \$2.50. Address all communications to Charles Knapp, at 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City. Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

VOL. XXII, No. 6.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1928

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VOLUME XXII, No. 6

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WHOLE No. 590

LATIN IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA¹

It is with deep appreciation of the honor you have done me in asking me to be on your program that I begin this talk. If I slip sometimes from Latin in Colonial Virginia, which is my topic, into Life in Colonial Virginia, which is my hobby, I hope you will be lenient to my frailty.

My bibliography for this paper is the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Volumes 1-34; the William and Mary College Quarterly, First Series, Volumes 1-27, Second Series, Volumes 1-6; Tyler's Quarterly, Volumes 1-8; Tyler's Williamsburg, the Old Capital, and Jamestown, the Cradle of the Republic. Aside from published material, I have read original records in most of the counties in Virginia formed prior to the Revolution. It has also been my good fortune to visit and see for myself almost every old inscription and old home to which reference is made.

Latin in Colonial Virginia would cover the period from 1607-1776. The extant material may be divided, it seems to me, into three classes: (1) Latin found in county court records, royal proclamations, instructions to royal governors, and similar documents. As might be inferred, the amount of this Latin is limited, since many of the old records in Virginia have been destroyed and not all of those in England have been published. (2) The second class includes the Latin used in Schools, or read for pleasure. We learn about this from lists of School books that have survived the years, and from catalogues of private libraries found in inventories of estates. (3) The third place in which Latin is found is in the inscriptions on tombstones of the Colonial period. So far as I know, these tombs are mostly in Tidewater Virginia.

Virginia, as you know, was greatly retarded in her progress by the massacre of 1622, so that, while the first legislative assembly with representatives from the different settlements was held in 1619, not until 1634 was the colony divided into shires or counties, possessed of the privilege of holding courts. Accomac, Warwick River, Charles River, later called York, Warrosquoyacke, later called Isle of Wight, Elizabeth

City, James City, Charles City, and Henrico were the eight original shires, from which have come not only the 100 counties that now comprise the State, but also a large portion of West Virginia.

Let us consider first the Latin found in court records. We should naturally look for this in the records of the eight original shires, but on the volumes of such records war and fire have made sad inroads. Only one county, Northampton, first called Accomac, has its records entire. Northampton, from its geographical position and the consequent difficulty its inhabitants experienced in going to Jamestown to transact all legal business, had been allowed to hold its own court prior to 1634. The first court was held on January 7, 1632. From that time down to the present, the records of the courts of the county have been preserved in unbroken sequence. They are the oldest records in Virginia, and very probably the oldest English records in the United States. The next most complete records are in York County, dating from 1646. In the other six of the original eight shires, the records exist in more or less scattered fashion, except those of poor James City, of which not a vestige remains, the most irreparable loss of all to Virginia history.

The place for Latin in court proceedings was at the beginning and at the end of documents. At the beginning, there was usually a date, reckoned not only from the birth of Christ, but also from the accession of the reigning English sovereign. Most of the Virginia clerks were probably Royalists, for in only one county have I seen an entry that failed to reckon Charles the Second's reign from the death of his father. This one entry very bluntly called 1661 *primo anno Caroli Secundi*. The day of the month is expressed in the fashion prevalent in England by simply translating the numeral into Latin, with utter disregard of Kalends, Nones, and Ides. Thus, October 17 is "17mo Octobris". In one county I have seen the day of the week used, *Iovis die*, *Martii die*, and so on. In this same county, I saw the two capital R's followed by an S that denoted William and Mary's dual sovereignty; strange to say, their names were omitted. The phrase used was "Jovis 28^o die Octobris anno secundo RRs srdi"; "srdi" likely stands for *sub regno dei*. This record was made in 1690, and is unusually full of Latin for so late a date.

At the end of the will or deed came the clerk's real opportunity to show his knowledge of Latin. If we may judge from the variety of phrases employed, the clerks, as a rule, were educated men. If the word 'aforesaid' becomes now "praefatus", now "praedictus", now "supradictus", if the records are said to be recorded "in Libro Curiae" and then "in Libro Curiali", and to be sworn to "in Curia" and then simply "Curiae", all this presupposes a wider knowl-

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at The George Washington University, Washington, D. C., May 6-7, 1927.

<The writer of this paper, Mrs. Philip Hiden, is a graduate of Randolph Macon Woman's College. She became a member of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States twenty years ago, at a time when the Association, unaware that The Classical Association of the Middle West and South claimed Virginia as part of its territory, was seeking to win for itself members in that State. Though the wife of a prominent business man of Newport News (a man more than once Mayor of the city), mother of several children (a daughter is a student now at Goucher College), and a public spirited woman actively engaged in the social and civic life of her city, Mrs. Hiden has managed not merely to retain an academic interest in the Classics, but to devote a large measure of time to their study. One result of such study is presented in this paper. C. K.>

edge of Latin forms and grammar than would be implied if the same phrase were used each time. The variation in phrases is shown in the following examples, culled from records in the different counties: Probat^r in Cur. Eboracis 24th Januarii per sacrament. anno 1655; Recognit^r in Cur. Eboracis 24^o die Mar. 1652 per Hannah Clark p^rdict.; Juratur in Surry^{ea} Com. 5 Mar. 1671, Carol. S^ñdi num. Regis Angliae, etc; Teste, Gulielmi Edwards, 1686 Annoque Regni Reg. Jacobi 2nd Sc^ñdi; Recognit. in Cur. Com. Rapp^a 1^o die Junii año Dom. 1687 et recordat^r 14^o die men. ejusdem añoq Supradict.; Jurat^r. in Cur. 9th day of Feb. 1663, recordat^r Eadem die; Record. prim. die Novemb. 1652; Accognitur in Cur. nono die Augusti 1647; Recognit^r in Cur., Probat^r in Cur. 10 Martii 1668 per sacrament Rogersi Long and Geraldii Connor et recordat^r die et año praedict.; Recognit^r in Cur. 25th May 1659, record. primo Julii sequent. per me. The phrase *per me* was followed by the name of the county clerk, as was also the phrase *Juratur coram me*. At the end of a will or deed the words *Vera copia* and *vera recordantur* often appear. The examples that have been given could be multiplied greatly, but enough instances have been quoted to show those in common use. The very ingenious abbreviations are worth noting, for they have caused many an amusing blunder when they were transcribed by a person unfamiliar with Latin. The Northampton Records, being the oldest, use long Latin passages; entire bonds are sometimes in that language. For example, two men who wished to keep an ordinary or inn, a business in which good character was always essential, applied for a license. The bond that they were required to give, dated July 12, 1640, addressed 'to all to whom these presents shall come', binds them and their heirs to the King or his successors for the faithful performance of their obligation in the sum of 200 lbs. good and lawful English money: "ducenta solidae bonae et legalis monetae Angliae".

The amount of Latin used, and the duration of its use varied from county to county and from clerk to clerk. In one county, formed in 1673, practically no Latin was used; in another, formed in 1634, the scattered papers have numerous Latin phrases up to 1700.

Sometimes a colonist returned to England and there gave power of attorney to some friend here to transact his business on this side of the water. Such powers of attorney and other legal papers executed in England have more Latin in them than there is in papers executed here. For example, a paper in the York Records, executed before an English notary public, has this impressive closing: "In testimonium veritatis manu mea solitus signavi ac sigillo corroboravi. Wm Scorry, Notarius Publicus". Another from the Surrey Records of the same period, 1660-1668, varies the form slightly: "In testimonium veritatis signo meo manuali solito signavi, tabellionis mei sigillum apposui rogatus". Wills at this time in England were frequently written throughout in Latin. There is one in the York Records, 1668, with an English translation appended to it. The script of both versions, however, is so difficult that I have not yet completely deciphered either.

The Parish Registers seem to use only three Latin expressions: *natus est*, generally abbreviated to *nat.*, *obit*, abbreviated to *ob.*, and *eodem die*. The last was used to avoid repeating the date. Why the Latin for 'marry' was not used I am at a loss to conjecture, unless the reason was that it involved the use of three words, *in matrimonium duxit*, as against one in English.

I have found only one example in Latin of a royal commission². It gives full authority over Virginia to Sir Wm. Berkeley, Governor, Herbert Jeffries, Vice-Governor, and the following other State Officers: Henrico Chickley, Militi; Johanni Berry, Militi; Thomae Ludwell, Armigero; Secretario Coloniae sive plantationis supra dictae, Francisco Moryson, Colonello Abrahamo Wood, Colonello Nathanieli Bacon, Senior, Colonello Nicolae Spencer, Colonello Philippo Ludwell, Colonello Gulielmo Cole, Colonello Francisco Leigh, Majori Raphaeli Wormley. The date of this commission is "decimo sexto die Novembris, anno regni nostri vicessimo octavo".

The bond that Edmund Jennings, of York County, gave when he became Secretary of State in 1702 is wholly in Latin³. One notices, however, that the names of the counties are no longer in Latin; it is "de Comitatu York", rather than "de Comitatu Eboracis", as it was in the records of 1646. Latin as the vehicle for all official communications was passing.

In academic circles, however, Latin was to be triumphant until the Revolution. The College of William and Mary, founded in 1693, was obliged by its charter to pay two copies of Latin verse to the Governor every fifth of November as quit rents for its lands. Governor Spotswood's expedition across the Blue Ridge was the topic chosen in 1717.

Lord Botetourt, Governor of Virginia in 1768-1770, whose statue, somewhat the worse for Republican zeal, looks calmly over the campus of William and Mary, was so much interested in the Classics that he left a sum of money to the College to purchase annually a gold medal for the best classical scholar.

As late as 1752, the President of William and Mary College took the oath of office in Latin:

Tu fidem dabis te munus praesidis tibi commissum fideliter administraturum secundum statuta Collegii. Ita Deus te adjuvet sacrosanctis Christi Evangeliiis.

The number of Latin books in the Colony is amazing, when one considers the slender resources of many of the settlers and the numberless other articles they had to import. The earliest date I have found in which the Classics are mentioned is in the will of Jno. Holloway, of Northampton County, 1643: "To John Tilney all my physical and chirurgical books, Latin and English"⁴. Many other Virginians were acquainted with the Classics, as the following items show: Geo. Thompson of Westmoreland, 1716, the Lives of the Twelve Caesars; Ralph Watson, Clerk, York County, 1645, 50 books in quarto, most of them being Latin books; Joseph Weekes, of Westmoreland, 1716, a parcel of books, some Greek, some Latin, some English; Wm. Brocas, Lancaster County, 1655, a parcel

²Virginia Magazine of History and Biograp. hy 17. 349.

³Ibidem, 22. 351. ⁴Ibidem, 10. 403.

of old books, most of them Spanish, Italian, and Latin. Among early libraries is that of Dr. Peter Hack, of Northampton County, 1665, who was described as "a practitioner in physicke", and a High German born in the city of Cologne under the Palatinate. Besides his High German and Dutch books, he had 17 Latin books in quarto and large octavo, and 37 books in octavo duodecimo and quarto vicesimo⁵. From the inventory of the library of Chas. Pasture, in Henrico County, in 1736, we learn that he had Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Persius, Caesar, Sallust, Phaedrus, Cicero's Letters, Lilly's Grammar (the old standby since Shakespeare was a schoolboy), Greek and Latin Testaments, and Cicero's Orations.

The library of Ralph Wormley, of Rosegill, who died in 1701, was very extensive⁶. Besides the specimens of the Classics mentioned in Charles Pasture's library, Wormley had "the young clerk's guide, an easy entrance to the Latin tongue" (which must have been much in demand), Seneca's Morals, the Histories of Quintus Curtius, Terence, Plutarch's Lives, and many other Latin books, unnamed in the inventory. In the library of Col. Richard Lee, of Mt. Pleasant, Westmoreland County, were Epigrams of Callimachus of Cyrene, a Greek Grammar, Aristotle, the first six books of Euclid, Caesar, Terence, Seneca, Dialogues of Lucian, Juvenal, Persius, Hesiod, Cicero, Xenophon, Latin poems, Claudian, Demosthenes, Heliodorus, Vergil, Livy, Ovid, Sallust, Tacitus, Martial, Pliny, Suetonius, Epictetus, Velleius Paterculus, Lilly's Grammar, and other books. This was a splendid classical library for 1715.

When Robert Beverly died in Spotsylvania County, in 1734, he left, among other books, Theocritus, Homer's Iliad in Greek and Latin, the Book of Job in Greek and Latin verse, and Pliny's Panegyric on Trajan.

The most famous library in Virginia, that of Wm. Byrd the Second, was sold in 1777 by the will of his son, Wm. Byrd the Third. It contained 3,625 volumes. In the classification of them, 650, or one-sixth of the total, are described as classical.

Mention, even though brief, must be made of the library of Councillor Robert Carter, of Nomini Hall, so well known to all who have read the Journal of Philip Fithian. Fithian, who was tutor for a year to the Carter children, frequently remarks on the resources of this library, which contained between 1500 and 2000 books⁷. Some of the Classics are Seneca's works, Bentley's Horace, Middleton's Life of Cicero, Xenophon in Latin, Minucius, Plato's Dialogues, Valerius Maximus, Ausonius, Essays on the first book of Lucretius, Holme's Latin Grammar, Clark's Latin Grammar, Epictetus, Lucian, and so on. Incidentally, if you have not already done so, do read Fithian's Journal. It is a storehouse of knowledge about life in Virginia on a big plantation just before the Revolution⁸.

⁵William and Mary Quarterly 8.237. ⁶Ibidem, 2.170.

⁷Ibidem, 10.232-241.

⁸Mrs. Hiden's account of classical libraries in Colonial Virginia is based mainly on court records.

I would refer the reader to a brief, but highly interesting and instructive, paper, by the late Fred Irland, long an Official Reporter of the House of Representatives, entitled The Culture

The only School, besides William and Mary, with whose curriculum I am at all familiar is that of Donald Robertson. His account book for 1768-1769 has been preserved and has been printed in part in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (1926). Generally, the entry simply states that on such a day a certain scholar began Latin or paid for his Latin, or English, or Mathematics, but occasionally the entry shows when he began to read Nepos or Eutropius, or began Lilly's Grammar. So far I have seen no mention of more advanced Latin. I have wondered if that was not left for College work.

In the Virginia Gazette, Virginia's first newspaper, under date of October 22-29, 1736⁹, a nameless "gentleman of Virginia" advertised his new volume of poems. On the title page, he used this quotation from Cicero's Archias:

...Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis, delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi remissionem humanissimam et libertatissimam <sic!> judicatis.

We come now to the Latin inscriptions on tombstones. Up to 1750 they flourished side by side with the English, but I know of no Latin inscription after this date.

In Bruton Parish Churchyard, at Williamsburg, the proximity of Latin and English epitaphs up to 1750 would seem to prove that the language was a matter of individual choice rather than of fashion. For example, there is a Latin inscription commemorating the first rector of the parish, Reverend Rowland Jones, an ancestor of Martha Washington, who died on April 23, 1688, while close by is the English inscription for Mrs. Jane Thorp, "an inhabitant of this parish who after a pilgrimage of 43 years in a troublesome world lay down here to rest in hope of a joyful resurrection, obiit June 6, 1695". Two imposing tombs in Bruton Churchyard have Latin inscriptions, the candle-snuffer tomb over David Bray (he died in 1732), and the tomb of Edward Borradall, one time Attorney General of Virginia, and Sarah Fitzhugh, his wife, both of whom died in 1743.

I suppose most of you have visited Jamestown and have seen the tombs of Commissary James Blair, founder of William and Mary, and Sarah Harrison, his wife. Both tombs were much damaged by the intruding sycamore that grew up between them. Sarah Harrison was a strongminded woman. She three times with a firm negative stopped the officiating clergyman when, in the marriage service, he reached the question of obeying, and in the end she emerged triumphant. The dates of her birth and death are

of Thomas Jefferson, which appeared in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.61-62 (December 4, 1916), and to a highly interesting pamphlet, Letters of Thomas Jefferson Concerning Philology and the Classics, edited by Thomas Fitzhugh. This pamphlet, of 75 pages, was published by the University of Virginia, as a reprint of articles that had been published in the Alumni Bulletin of that University (April, 1918, October, 1918, January and April, 1919).

In Mr. Irland's paper there is a list of the books, Greek and Latin, in Jefferson's library, as it was bought by the United States Government in 1815.

I mention also an article entitled Early Classical Scholars in Maryland, by Mr. Bernard C. Steiner, Librarian of The Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland, which appeared in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.185-190 (May 2, 1921). C. K. >

⁹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 11.211.

given in English on her tomb (she died in 1713), which has been restored. The Latin lines that were there have been covered by the roots of the tree and are no longer visible. Commissary Blair survived his wife for thirty years; he died at the ripe age of 88. A long Latin epitaph records his birth in Scotland, his removal to England, and later to America, and the honors he held here. Parts of many of the words are missing and it would be rather difficult to translate all of it. The person who wrote it knew how to reckon time according to Roman usage, for James Blair died on April 18, and "Kal. Maii" is still discernible. The use of Roman reckoning is infrequent enough to deserve mention.

At Westover, one of the most beautiful bits of Georgian architecture extant, is the tomb of Theodorick Bland, once owner of Westover, who died in 1671. His brief inscription is in Latin, as is that of Wm. Byrd the First, who died in 1701, or, as the Latin reads, "qui hanc vitam cum eternitate commutavit postquam vixisset 52 annos". The epitaphs for the famous Evelyn Byrd (who died in 1737) and for her imposing father, Wm. Byrd the Second (he died in 1744), are in English.

The tomb of Benjamin Harrison, grandfather of Benjamin Harrison, the Signer, who died in 1710, has an elaborate Latin inscription. In fact, in this case Latin proved insufficient to describe his virtues so that a Greek word, ἀφίλαργυρία, was called in, the only instance I know of in Virginia in which Greek was employed. Whether or not his widow, Elizabeth Burwell, was instrumental in having this elaborate tribute recorded, I do not know, but, when she died, nearly twenty-five years later, plain English was considered good enough for her¹⁰.

Memoriae Sacrum
Hic situs est in Spem Resurrectionis
Benjaminus Harrison de Berkley
Benjamini Harrison de Surrey Filius Natu
Maximus, Uxorem Duxit Elizabetham Lodovici
Burwell Glocestriensis Filiam E Qua Filium
Reliquit Unicum Benjamin et unam Filiam
Elizabetham. Obijt Apr X Anno Dom MDCCX
Aetatis XXXVII,
Plurimum Desideratus
Prolocutor Domus Burgentium
Causidicus Ingenio, Doctrina Eloquentia,
Fide et ἀφίλαργυρία Insignis
Viduarum Orphanorum omniumque Pauperum
Oppressorum Patronus Indefessus
Controversarum et literum Arbiter et Diremptor
Auspiciatus et Pacificus,
In Administratione Iustitiae Absque Tricis et
Ambagibus Comitatus Hujus Index
Aequissimus Ibidemque Impietatis et
Nequitiae Vindex Acerrimus,
Libertatis Patriae Assertor Intrepidus Et
Boni Publici Imprimis Studiosus,
Hunc Merito Proprium Virginia Iactet Alumnus
Tam Propere Abreptum, sed Querebunda Dolet
Publicus Hic Dolor et Nunquam Reparabile Dam-
num
Det Deus ut Vitae sint Documenta Novae.

In Gloucester County, at Rosewell, the famous Page home, is the tomb of Judith Wormley, who

died in 1716; she was the daughter of Ralph Wormley of Rosegill, and the wife of Mann Page. A long flowing Latin epitaph is used; *lectissima*, *delectissima*, *carrissima* are the adjectives employed to describe her. Of course, as the superlatives would lead you to infer, Mann Page soon married again¹¹.

At Warner Hall, also in Gloucester County, is the grave of Dr. Thos. Clayton, who married a descendant of Augustine Warner. The inscription is different in one respect from the other Latin epitaphs we have seen. After describing him as an alumnus of Cambridge, a physician, broken in health by his professional duties, and adding that 'the marble was erected by his widow and enriched by her tears', it gives six moralizing lines somewhat reminiscent of Horace¹².

Hic subter sitae sunt reliquiae D.
Thomae Clayton, M.B. Johannis Clayton
Arm. Filii natu minimi Aulae pembrochianae
Cantabrigensis olim alumni studio et labore
professionis fractus postquam
aetatis suae annum 38 attigisset 17
die Octobris anno nostrae salutis a Christo
MDCCXXXIX pie et suaviter in Domino
obdormivit cujus vidua Isabella pientissima
hoc marmor pro munere extremo uberibus
cum lachrymis devotissime posuit.
Magnificas nullas cernes hic stare columnas
Saxa nec artificis vivere jussa manu
Pyramides celsa, Lector, nec surgere mole
illis in campis Isidis arte pares.
Scilicet hanc speciem titulorum quaerat inanem
famam qui melius conciliare nequit.

In the Chapel of William and Mary, you have probably noticed the modern mural tablet to Sir John Randolph, which replaces the old tablet that the fire of 1859 destroyed. At Sir John's death, The Reverend Wm. Dawson delivered a funeral oration in Latin. It is likely, therefore, that he composed the Latin inscription on the tablet, which does full credit to Sir John's achievements, and, in correct manner, informs you that Sir John died "Sexto Non Mar 1736/7", or, as we should say, on March 2, 1737.

Robert Carter, or "King Carter", as he was often called on account of his large possessions (300,000 acres of land and 1,000 slaves), was so prominent a person in his day that it seems unfair to omit from this paper his stately epitaph. His tomb lay in ruins for years, destroyed in part, it is said, by lightning, and in part by ghouls who hoped to find gold and jewels in it. Within the last year, however, it has been restored by his descendants, and the sculptured marble once more tells his achievements¹³.

H. S. E.

Vir honorabilis Robertus Carter, Armiger,
qui genus honestum dotibus eximiis et
morbis antiquis illustravit. Collegium
Gulielmi et Mariae temporibus difficillimis
propugnabit, Gubernator.
Senatus Rogator et Quaestor sub serenissimis
Principibus Gulielmo, Anna, Georgio
Primo et Secundo.

¹¹*Ibidem*, 3.187.

¹²*Ibidem*, 2.229.

¹³Meade, *Old Families and Churches of Virginia*, 2.121.

¹⁰William and Mary Quarterly 4.143.

A publicis concilliis concillii per sexennium
 praeses; plus anno Coloniae
 Praefectus, cum regiam dignitatem et
 publicam libertatem aequali jure asseruit.
 Opibus amplissimis bene partis instructus,
 aedem hanc sacram, in Deum pietatis grande
 monumentum propriis sumptibus extruit,
 Locupletavit.
 In omnes quos humaniter excepit nec
 prodigus nec parcus hospes. Liberalitatem in-
 signem testantur debita munifice remissa.
 Primo Juditham, Johannis Armistead,
 Armigeri filiam; deinde Betty, generosa
 Landonorum stirpe oriundam, sibi connubio
 junctas habuit, e quibus prolem numerosam
 suscepit, in qua erudienda pecuniae vim
 maximam insumpsit.
 Tandem honorum et dierum satus cum omnia
 vitae munera egregiae praestitisset, obiit
 Pri. Non. Aug. An. Dom. 1732, aet. 69.
 Miseri solamen viduae praesidium orbi
 patrem, ademptum lugent.

What would Virginia be without its great family, the Lees? I must, therefore, in closing mention the inscription on the tomb of Col. Richard Lee, of Mt. Pleasant, Westmoreland County, whose extensive classical library we have noted. In the epitaph, his devotion to the humanities is mentioned next to his zeal for the welfare of his country. Surely, that is tribute to the high esteem in which Latin and Greek were held¹⁴.

Hic Conditur Corpus Richardi Lee
 Armigeri, Nati in Virginia, filii Richardi
 Lee, generosi et antiqua familia, in Merton-
 Regis, in Comitatu Salopiensi, oriundi.

In Magistratum obeundo boni publici
 studiosissimi, in literis Graecis et Latinis
 et aliis humanioris literaturae disciplinis
 versatissimi.

Deo quem summa observentia semper coluit,
 animam tranquillius reddidit XIImo die Martii
 Anno MDCCXIV, aetat LXVIII.

Hic juxta, situm est corpus Laetitia
 ejusdem uxoris fidae, filiae Henrici Corbyn,
 generosi, liberorum matris Amantissimae,
 pietate erga Deum, charitate erga egenos benignitate
 erga omnes insignis. Obiit Octob. die
 VI, MDCCVI, aetatis XLIX.

Official records, inventories of private libraries, and inscriptions on tombs all unite to show how widespread was the use of Latin during the Colonial period. This knowledge of the Classics and interest in them in the past form for us of to-day a rich heritage, an intellectual background that encourages us to greater knowledge. For this heritage does not belong to Virginia alone; long ago it crossed her borders, carried now South, now West, until, enlarged by time and by tradition, it has enriched the cultural life of our country¹⁵.

NEWPORT NEWS,
 VIRGINIA

MARTHA W. HIDDEN

¹⁴Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 20.243.

¹⁵In a letter which accompanied her paper Mrs. Hidden comments all too briefly on the interesting spellings which appear in the inscriptions. The Clayton inscription shows *pietissima*; the Lee inscription shows *charitate*; and the Carter inscription has *concillium*. C. K. >

REVIEWS

Lysippos. By Franklin P. Johnson. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press (1927). Pp. xii + 334. 61 Plates. \$7.50.

Professor Johnson's monograph on Lysippos, conceived on the lines of Klein's *Praxiteles* and distinguished by its thoroughness of treatment and careful scholarship, has been in process of preparation during the past eight or nine years. The author has been greatly assisted, as all who treat of Greek athletic art must be, by the laborious researches of Professor W. W. Hyde, whose Olympic Victor Monuments appeared in the early phases of Professor Johnson's researches¹. Dr. Johnson's work, however, bears everywhere the imprint of personal contact with sculpture, and it is clear that he has spent a vast amount of time in the galleries of Europe. He appears also to have shown an enterprise not always found among scholars, in familiarizing himself to some degree with the Russian language. There is certainly very little that has escaped Dr. Johnson's eye that relates to learned criticism, and his book should prove for years to come a most valuable source of information to students of fourth-century Greek art. A most pleasing feature is his candor of statement when he has been unable to view a statue or to consult a work; we feel that he has laid every one of his cards on the table.

The contents of the book are as follows:

I. The Successors of Polykleitos (3-39); II. Euphranor and Skopas (40-57); III. The Life of Lysippos (58-73); IV. Literary Evidence on Lysippian Art; the Apoxyomenos (74-91); V. The Signed Bases; The Polydamas Base; The Herakles Epitrapezios; The Eros (92-116); VI. The Daochos Group (117-133); VII. Statues of Deities (134-165); VIII. Other Statues of Deities Ascribed to Lysippos by Modern Scholars (166-189); IX. The Representations of Herakles (190-212); X. Lysippos, Court Sculptor (213-229); XI. Miscellaneous Works (230-253); XII. Conclusions (254-264); Addenda (265); Appendix I. Passages in Ancient Authors (266-321); Appendix II. Bibliography (322-328); Index (329-334).

The illustrations are on the whole highly satisfactory. A few are of mediocore quality, but many are of superlative excellence. However, in a number of places Dr. Johnson has been the victim of some unholy tricks played by his printer. There is a sad mess involving many lines in the lower half of page 55. On page 68 one finds a minor jumble and a wrong accent on a Greek word. The only Greek word which occurs on page 266 is inverted. In some parts of the book (e. g. 87), where the reasoning seems to lack its usual lucidity, it may be that there are further confusions in the composition of the page. Here and there the lines are poorly leaded. There are mistakes in spelling on pages vi and 251, and presumably a word has dropped out of 224.

I have observed but two slips on the part of the author. His statement (195) that the head of the Bronze Boxer is turned up "to the left of the figure" must be an error for 'to the right', as this can hardly be from the spectator's point of view. His dating

<1For a review of Professor Hyde's book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 17.59-62. C. K. >

of the Cos inscription (72) in the latter part of the "third" century is surely a slip for the 'fourth'. This document, which Dr. Johnson publishes as reconstructed by Professor D. M. Robinson (71), does not present a wholly satisfactory reading. I would suggest the restoration <Τιν>ων for <Ικ>ων in the first line, as the dative μοι is very awkward if the sentence is not interrogative. I would also read <πλάστης> for <γλύπτης> in line 1. The former answers better to Επλάσε of line 4; the word seems common in the Anthology. I would also substitute ἀτρε<μαῖος> for ἀτρε<πτος> in line 2; in the last line <φί>λοι seems better than <Κα>λῶι. The accent on λέλυ<σθαι> (*sic!*) should also be corrected.

While one is impressed, almost everywhere in the book, with the soundness of Dr. Johnson's work, an occasional misstatement or oversight strikes the eye. He speaks of the swollen ear (35) as being the mark of the boxer or pancratiast. This belief is now antiquated. A strange statement is found on pages 245-246 regarding ancient representations of runners. The bronze wrestlers of Herculaneum are under consideration, and notice is taken of the advanced right arm and left leg of one of the boys. Then we read, "but in runners the advanced arm ought to be on the same side as the advanced foot, since it is both natural and usual in vase-paintings to bring the right or left arm and leg forward together..." This is undoubtedly "usual"; I recall at the moment only two vase-paintings—in Berlin and Toronto—showing the opposite. But the word "natural" is absurd to anyone who has ever run a race. Not all statues adopt this pose. There is, for example, a bronze runner in the University Museum at Tübingen which has the right arm and the left leg advanced.

The author speaks in another place (82) of the "dolichocephalous form" of the Vatican Apoxyomenos. Probably this is only a slip for 'brachycephalous'. The form of the head clearly suggests roundness. Furthermore, the measurements taken on a life-size Caproni cast show the length of head to be 21 cm., and the breadth to be 19.5 cm. Using two separate methods to discount the presence of the hair, I obtain in either case the cephalic index 82.5.

A fair number of other contentions may well be challenged. Dr. Johnson thinks that the fact that the Apoxyomenos was apparently little copied must be due to the difficulty of making an effective copy in marble (255). One wonders why the difficulty should exist with this work particularly. His explanation (259-260) of Pliny's words (34.65), *quales viderentur esse*, as signifying expressiveness, vividness, or the quality denoted by *animosa*, is not convincing. The statement that the succeeding epoch was "formed by" Lysippus more than by any other (262) is very open to question, since the Praxitelean tradition completely dominated later female sculpture, and the influence of Scopas on Pergamene art was paramount. One is surprised to find the author insisting on the "proportions" of statues represented on coins. Surely nothing could be more unreliable. He regards the forms of the *pubes* as a fairly constant feature in an

artist's style (192), but he does not offer proof. I should be personally inclined to regard the treatment of this feature as most variable, as its portrayal calls for little concentration on the part of the sculptor. Dr. Johnson often cites the forms of the ear in Roman copies; but it is recognized by most authorities that this was the one organ to which the copyist paid little or no attention.

The opening chapter gives a good account of the successors of Polycleitus, whom Dr. Johnson is undoubtedly right in regarding as the artistic ancestor of Lysippus. The author then carries us down through the line of Euphranor and Scopas. Though he speaks in one place (144) of Euphranor as being a "shadowy" figure, he does not hesitate to follow an old theory of Th. Reinach, more recently supported by Professor Stais and Miss Bieber, that the Cerigotto bronze youth is the Paris of this artist. The theory is rejected by almost all scholars. The inverted hand of the statue and the drooping head render the apple-motive quite impossible. Dr. Johnson finds a *ridendi causa* in the contention of E. Gardner that the youth is amusing himself with a plaything dangled in his hand; but this explanation of the attitude of the youth was postulated independently by Svoronos and by still another scholar. It is apparently the only possible understanding of the situation. Moreover, there is in a Canadian collection a replica of the head, seemingly not known to Dr. Johnson, which is closer to the original type, and is more Lysippic in style than the bronze.

On the basis of the form of its head, Dr. Johnson assigns the Capitoline Aphrodite to Scopas. If this be correct, we are forced to accept the conclusion that we must begin all over again in our conception of Scopaic art in so far as facial expression is concerned. The Zeus of Otricoli is regarded as Lysippic; but it is very difficult to discern any close likeness between it and the Apoxyomenos, which Dr. Johnson accepts as the foundation for our study of Lysippic style. He adopts also, and with more cause, the Medici Aphrodite; but it is hard to explain the rich modelling of the work. On the other hand, he rejects from his Lysippic canon the Ares Ludovisi, the Lansdowne Heracles, and the Philandridas head—the last of which Professor Hyde confidently regards as a Lysippic original. Dr. Johnson is surely right in rejecting the Lateran Poseidon type, and there is a good deal to be said for his acceptance of the Meleager type. It is true that the Villa Medici and Fogg Museum copies are Scopaic, but most of the others differ markedly therefrom.

Dr. Johnson follows his (and the reviewer's) former teacher, Professor D. M. Robinson, in denying the Lysippic authorship of the Agias. He finds his most potent argument in the discrepancy in the statements at Pharsalus and Delphi regarding the number of Agias's victories. I cannot see the great importance of this, and feel that the question of style is the true criterion. Dr. Johnson's analysis of the Agias (128-130) in comparison with the Apoxyomenos is not particularly well conducted. His statement (129) that "The shapes of the heads are as different as they

could well be..." is impossible to understand, even if we allow for an element of exaggeration. His eye must surely be deceived by the difference in position of the ear of each, the presence of the Agias's fillet and the leaner lines of his face, and the thicker hair of the other; for, anatomically, the skulls are almost identical in shape. Nor can I see that there is any essential difference in the form of the *pubes* of the two, even if we should grant that this is a more or less determinative feature. To discuss all the details is out of the question. My own view is that the copyist of the Agias merely simplified the more elaborate modelling of a Lysippic original, just as he has reduced to about the same level the modelling of this and the other nude figures of the Daochus group.

All these matters of attribution are, of course, problematical, and any adverse criticism which may be made might be regarded as standing on unsteady ground, were it not for a positive defect that is discernible in the book. It is unfortunate that a treatise so thorough, so learned, showing such excellent taste and, in general, good judgment, should have failed in supplying us with something which might lead us to a more complete understanding of the art of Lysippus. The author's chapter of conclusions makes very little progress in this direction; he nowhere takes time to define clearly the quintessence of the style which he is discussing. In other words, he is, to speak candidly, better as a scholar than as an art critic. So far as I am aware, the only contribution that he has made to the usual appraisal of Lysippic art is his observation (258) that the unusual and restless poses of the statues call for a constant shifting in the position of the spectator. This is valuable; but one feels that the author's long association with the artist has not led to a very close intimacy with the artist. Nor does he manifest the degree of subtlety that might be expected in his handling of matters of fine detail. His observation of minutiae has not advanced beyond that of scholars of an earlier generation. For example, it is strange to see that he almost disregards all question of hair-treatment, though he does not tell us that he regards this as valueless. He does not go further than "vivid" or "elaborate" or "restless" in designating the treatment of hair by Lysippus. This is disappointing. Perhaps he found nothing new of this sort to record; perhaps he thinks our copies untrustworthy. But we wish that he had made his views on these subjects a little clearer.

ALFRED UNIVERSITY,
ALFRED, NEW YORK

A. D. FRASER

Homer's Ithaca; A Vindication of Tradition. By Sir Rennell Rodd. London: Edward Arnold and Company; New York, Longmans, Green and Company (1927). Pp. 160. With Maps and Sketches. \$2.40.

The genial little book on Homer's Ithaca, by the distinguished English man of letters, Sir Rennell Rodd, should undoubtedly serve to popularize the Ithacan question, which has from time to time seriously disturbed the minds of scholars. In the autumn of 1926 Sir Rennell Rodd, cruising in the ketch *Ino*,

visited one of the western ports of Cephallenia, circumnavigated the island, then proceeded round the northern spurs of Ithaca, or *Thiáki*, landed in its main port, Vathy, and spent the next fortnight in careful exploration of the island and the traditional Homeric sites. He visited the island again in 1927. The views which he had long held as an inheritance, and which had been strengthened by his first visit, were completely established by his last voyage.

The problem of the true identification of Homer's Ithaca, which interested the dilettanti of the early nineteenth century, and was taken up very seriously by Dörpfeld and others in the opening years of the twentieth, seems likely to make something of a stir in the near future. Again Dörpfeld has entered the lists (witness his book, *Alt-Ithaca*, 1927), and again the conservatives are rallying to the support of tradition.

Sir Rennell Rodd cleaves fast to the faith that was first given to the world by Sir William Gell in 1807, and later supported by no less an authority than Schliemann. *Thiáki* is the Homeric Ithaca; incidentally, Cephallenia is Same; and Zante is 'wooded' *Zacynthus*. While belief in the identification of the last has never, I believe, been seriously impugned, the school of Dörpfeld has long maintained that Ithaca is really the modern Santa Maura, or Leucas, and that Same is *Thiáki*.

But the fourth island of Homer's group, Dulichium, presents a problem of extreme difficulty. Dörpfeld identifies it, though not convincingly, with the modern Cephallenia. Others have fallen back on the counsel of despair that would make it part of the mainland. Sir Rennell Rodd thinks he has found Dulichium in *Petala*, a small island directly east of *Thiáki*. But it is doubtful if anyone will accept his conclusion.

One must also account for the island of Asteris, 'in the strait between Ithaca and Same', as Homer speaks of it, where the suitors lay in wait for *Telemachus*. The author accepts the traditional identification of it with *Daskalio*, a rock between Cephallenia and *Thiáki*. Messrs. Dörpfeld and Brewster, supporting entirely different theses, find Asteris in *Arkudi*, to the south of Leucas. The various points in the Homeric topography of Ithaca—the rock *Corax*, the fountain *Arethusa*, the quarters of the swine-herd, the cave of the nymphs, the site of the city, and the harbors of *Phorceys* and *Reithrum*—are found readily enough, as they might be on almost any Mediterranean island, if one be willing to interpret the Homeric text here and there a trifle broadly.

The contents of the book are as follows:

I. Introductory (13-34); II. Some Postulates Regarding the Homeric Poems (35-51); III. Leucas or *Itháki* (52-77); IV. The Riddle of *Doulíchion* (78-97); V. The Description of Ithaca (98-129); VI. Description of Ithaca (*continued*) (130-157); Index (158-160).

The book makes no pretention to elaborate scholarship, and its documentation is slight. But the author knows his Homer, which is the best omen for a study of this kind, and he states that he is more familiar with the *Odyssey* than with any other book. He makes, however, one slip (94), when he attributes to

Odysseus rather than to Laërtes the expression of fear that the Cephallenians may become roused at the killing of the suitors.

Sir Rennell Rodd stoutly and confidently defends what is after all a hopeless cause, if one is to attempt to maintain the two postulates which he, in common with most of the traditionalists, does. If we decide to surrender ourselves wholly to the claims of tradition, it is perfectly correct that we should accept the Ithaca-Thiáki belief; but logic at the same time demands that we abandon the faith that Homer possessed the slightest knowledge of the geography of the Ionian isles. But this latter the traditionalists are quite unwilling to do. However, to one who does not desire the worse to be shown as the better reason, the dilemma is quite apparent. If we assume that Homer gained information from some source concerning the western islands, we are forced to accept the conclusion—whether or no we cast in our lot with Dörpfeld—that classical tradition is here worse than useless. By no stretch of the imagination, unless this be accompanied by the most diligent stretching of the use of language, can the wretched little Thiáki be regarded as the splendid, 'far-seen' Ithaca of Homer.

But the book, none the less, is a clear and honest expression of the time-honored view, and the tone of the author is pleasing and seductive throughout. It is greatly to his credit that he carefully shuns the air of fierce truculence which is shown all too frequently by the disputants in this controversy—an attitude which tends at times to cast serious doubt on their own sincerity.

ALFRED UNIVERSITY,
ALFRED, NEW YORK

A. D. FRASER

Latin Writings of the Italian Humanists. Selections by Florence Alden Gragg. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons (1927). Pp. xxxiv+334.

Professor Gragg's anthology from the Latin writings of the Italian humanists is, according to the Preface, intended "for use by college students who are interested in the history of classical scholarship and by those whose study of Italian history leads them to desire a nearer acquaintance with the great scholars of the Renaissance..." The selections are well adapted for this purpose, but readers of the former class, certainly, and readers of the second class, probably, will have difficulty in using the book because of the lack of notes

and bibliography. There are, to be sure, brief biographical notes at the beginning of the book, but this is hardly enough¹.

Professor Gragg is doubtless justified in making no comment on such expressions as "Dantes Allagherius", or "Domino Cani Grandi" (though many a College student would be puzzled by the latter and would not be helped, in connection with it, by Harpers' Latin Dictionary); but a three-line quotation from Stabat Mater Dolorosa might at least carry a note on the 'seven great hymns'. In an age in which so many students of Latin have no Greek an explanation of transliterated Greek words might be useful.

But the material is here, and a judicious teacher will make notes for his pupils.

A little more of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch would have done no harm.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

BEN C. CLOUGH

THE DATE OF CATULLUS'S BIRTH

In examining, recently, the excellent Budé edition of Catullus¹, I was struck by a suggestion which the editor, Professor G. Lafaye, makes regarding the date of Catullus's birth. According to St. Jerome, Catullus was born in 87 B. C. and died in 57 B. C. However, various references in Catullus's poems make it clear that he could not have died before 54 B. C. The allusion to Catullus in Ovid, Amores 3.9.62, proves that he died young. Many editors, therefore, say that Jerome was probably right in stating that Catullus was only thirty when he died, but wrong in stating that he was born in 87 B. C. Professor Lafaye, accepting this hypothesis, says (vi, note) "Saint Jérôme aurait confondu de premier consulat de L. Cornelius Cinna (an 87) avec le quatrième (an 84)". This seems very plausible, and affords a parallel to the mistake made by Jerome in dating Messala's birth. In that connection Schulz suggested that Jerome confused the consuls of 64 B. C. (Caesar and Figulus) with those of 59 B. C. (Caesar and Bibulus). See my note on the date of Livy's birth, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.138-139.

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<¹The major part of the Introduction consists of an account of the life and work of the "Authors Represented in This Book". Some forty-one authors are treated in fourteen pages. Among the authors are Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio, Francesco Filelfo Poliziano, Aldo Manuzio, Sanazaro, and Mario Antonio Flaminio. C. K. >.

<²L. Mueller long ago made a like suggestion concerning the date of the birth of Lucilius. He supposed that Lucilius was born in 180 B. C., and held that Jerome's error, in giving 148 B. C. as the date of Lucilius's birth, arose because he confused the names of the consuls of the two years. See L. Mueller, C. Lucili Saturnarum Reliquiae, 288-289 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1872), and W. Y. Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Republic, 230-231 (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1889. C. K. >.



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Indirect Question	An indirect question, after a main verb of questioning, is introduced by the proper interrogative word and has its verb in the subjunctive. Tense of subjunctive depends upon sequence of tenses (p. 74).	<i>He orders them to do these things.</i> <i>Imperat eis ut haec facerent.</i> <i>He charged all to be brave.</i> <i>Mandavit ut omnes fortiter essent.</i>

* Do not use carelessly the terms "indirect discourse," "indirect statement," and "accusative and infinitive." Indirect discourse includes indirect statement, indirect command, and indirect question. Indirect statement is one branch of indirect discourse and also one branch of the accusative and infinitive construction (page 56).
† The common verb of command takes accusative and infinitive.

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